

Terena

Mbayá SK11

Arawakan Indians JR6

/31 cont. /

their own group as a result of a process of social stratification--
or non-Guaná tribes, whether Guaraní, Guaxí, or Xamakoko.

"Thus," Labrador goes on, "the Eyiguayegui captains alone
have servants: the Guaycuru common people had no rights
over those people. Whence the Niyololas call Guaycuru caciques
and their relatives 'Our captains'; but the rest of the nation
and those who are not related to caciques they call 'Our
brothers.'" (34) And the discrimination also extends to the

34. Idem:267.

offering of gifts: "On the eve of the Mbayás' departure their
servants present them with some grain for the journey; a cake
of nibadana with which they paint themselves red, and a
cotton manta, whether white or striped in various colors, which
the Chanás weave skillfully. The plebeian Mbayás are not
offered such presents, even though they are provided with food
during the three days they spend in the settlements by friends
and acquaintances." (35)

35. Idem:267-268.

To say that there was no interest on the Guaná's part in
the /32/ periodic visits of the Guaikurú is not to understand
the pattern of intertribal interaction. In the beginning of the
17th century, for the Guaná the coming of the Guaikurú to
their aldeas was not only useful but desirable. They needed
knives, axes, and other things which only their guests could
supply, thanks to their attacks on the Spaniards and Portuguese.(36)

36. Cf. Labrador, II: 268.

Incidentally, this jibes with the theory developed by Max
Schmidt in his book on the expansion of the Aruák, (37)

[text continues on p. 33]

/33 cont. /

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175
648

some Guanã joined the Guaikurú voluntarily as peons, this fact did not lead the Guaikurú to dominate as a social class the Guanã who had remained in their aldeas. The uncertain nature of the Guanã's state of dependency is proved by the fact that later on, with the increasing political decadence of the Guaikurú, they relaxed the symbiosis and later gave it up altogether." (P. 24.)

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175
648

Without going into the details of this mechanism of intertribal interaction, which we cannot do on the basis of the sources consulted or even of the oral history of the remaining Terêna, it must be noted here that the relations between the two tribal groups were far more in the nature of an alliance than of a pure and simple submission of the Guanã. (40)

40. With respect to this, let us see an interesting comment by Ego Schaden: "Nothing more natural, therefore, than the establishment of the symbiotic interdependence, which for a long time united the two tribes, in such a way that the Guanã acknowledged and accepted the dominant position of the Kaduveo (a Mbaya-Guaikurú subtribe).... The Kaduveo-Guanã relationship cannot be characterized without

M
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[651]
[431]

Terena

Mbayá SK11

/33 cont. /

further ado as a relationship between seigniors and slaves, for the Guanã, although obliged to pay tribute to the Kaduveo, also received, on the other hand, gifts from them, and especially could count on the protection of their seigniors when they were in danger of being attacked by other Indians of the region. The Guanã for this reason accepted freely their dependent position, which in any case seemed advantageous to them." (1948:204-205.)

There were even certain rules that governed the visits, faithfully obeyed by the Guaikurú guests--to take up once more that situation described by Labrador. "They visit them each year and receive the homage of their servants. When they go to their villages, they stay in each one for at most three days; either because the lack of /34/ grazing for their horses does not allow more time, or owing to a long-standing custom. A strange thing in this regard is that each Eyiguaequí captain lodges in the house of his servants, and no other Mbayá stays in this same house. They observe this practice with such punctilio that, if a Mbayá woman captain has servants other than her husband's, they separate for those days and each one lives with his own, without the slightest feeling." (41) And even in those

41. Labrador, 1910, II: 267.

cases where Guanã populations camped next to Guaikurú, as occurred, for example, in the 19th century, when a group of these Indians--probably Exoaíadi--settled near the Albuquerque

148 cont. /

[Traditional Culture]

616 statement by Rattray-Hay, with the exception of the adjectives
 1173 "good" and "bad" attributed to the moieties. Actually, good
 1147 and bad seem to be much more a "pious" rationalization con-
 1829 cerning the moieties rather than an objective interpretation.
 616 We prefer, in this case, Oberg's "translation," (73) i.e.,

73. 1948:283; 1949:27.

Xumono as "fierce" (fierce people) and Sukirikiono as "gentle"
 (gentle people), in accordance with the divergent behavior
 shown by each moiety in the old ceremonies. In the Oheokoti
 ceremony, the Xumono had to tease and provoke, while the
Sukirikiono had to remain passive and phlegmatic, without
 showing any reaction.

616 Concerning the survival of these moieties as techniques
 796 for the regulation of the ceremonial life, it is well to emphasize
 1128 that the bibliography is limited to Rattray-Hay, and only to
 1128 this passage we are examining. Our investigations among the
 Terena of Cachoeirinha permit us to pinpoint 1905 as the last
 year in which the moieties appear to have been fully operative
 in the division of the community for the festivities which were
 616 carried out at the time. These festivals combined magico-
 796 religious activities and secular games, in the following way:
 431 after the Oheokoti religious ceremony--which we shall describe
 below--there appeared a new personage, Yunakalú, who was
 always a Xumono Indian, in full attire and whose duty it was
 to go from house to house, in the aldeia, to ask for donations
 (mostly food), accompanied by a large crowd who helped him
 carry the objects received. The Yunakalú used a stick with
 which he pointed to the objects desired, which could not be
 denied him by the owners. (74) Then, the food was carried

[565]

74. This may be the origin
 of the term so commonly used
 in Bananal, Maxati-txané.

/48 cont. /

[Traditional Culture]

The Naati could never withhold any gift, at the peril of losing prestige; the Yunakalú was always a Waherê-Txanê.

616 to the place where the awaited banquet was to be carried out,
 796 after which the "Tadique" or Mootó began. (75) The Xumono
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Then, the food was carried

[192]

75. While "Tadique" is a Guaikirú word commonly used by the neo-Brazilian population, "Mootó" is a Txanê word given to that game by the Terêna (of Cachoeirinha). However, Altenfelder collected a third term, "Tchucutchú," as the name of this game among the Terêna of Bananal. (Cf. Altenfelder, 1949:364.)

[184]

stood on one side, the Sukirikionó on the other, confronting each other, in pairs, it being prohibited for two individuals of the same group to fight; the men's fight was followed by the /49/ women's, and as a closing note, by the children's. (76)

[565]
[178]

76. The informants could not specify whether certain categories or classes had precedence for the beginning of the fight; they did not go beyond the categories of age and sex; as for status, they could tell us nothing, which seems to prove that already at the beginning of the

[Traditional Culture]

796 /51 cont. /
[346]

In all the aldeas, in front of each rancho, they build a roof with two slopes, of straw and two meters square and one meter 80 centimeters high, supported on bamboos. Under this roof they place a bamboo fork from which they hang a plume of feathers and a gourd. They go in large crowds from rancho to rancho, every half hour, singing and making noise with the gourd. On the fourth day, at dawn, they make a great din with horns, cry out, and discharge gun powder; it is an impressive noise, so impressive that even the animals take fright, and accompany the music with their cries and moans. On the fifth day a masked figure appears (the Yuna-kalú-rcó) with a little bag in his hand, clowning and requesting contributions from everyone for the great banquet which they will all celebrate.

Accompanied by music, drums, and flutes, they celebrate the banquet and dances which end on the seventh day with much drinking." (1916:91.)

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[147] festivities were carried out among the Terena whom he visited at the end of the 19th century. These ceremonies, which